

BROAD SCOTCH,

ADDRESSED

TO ALL

TRUE

SCOTS MEN.



EDINBURGH,

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True SCOTS MEN.

My dear Countrymen,



IT is a vulgar, and I fear too true a Saying, concerning our national Character, that we are *Wise behind the Hand*. Numberless are the Evils which have been with good Reason prophesied to us, and which have actually befallen us, thro' Want of Consideration before we enter'd upon Measures of Importance. These very Reasons, join'd to a little *woful Experience*,
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have made us sensible of our Errors when it was past our Power to mend them.

IN no Period of our History can a Point of Time be assign'd when it was more the Business of *Scots* Men to stand still a little and look before them, than it is at this Moment. We are not far from the Brink of a Precipice, and the Question is, Whether we will go forward, or turn aside to avoid it ?

LET us examine our selves with Attention and Courage. We are conscious of our ill Situation, but we are unwilling to enter into Particulars, for Fear of being driven to pronounce Sentence against our selves. That, my Countrymen, is the Road which leads to our Destruction. Before we can amend, we must not only become our own Accusers, but we must also hear what our Neighbours say of us.

WE have often complain'd of the Usage we have met with from our Sister of *England*. We say, that the near and indissoluble Relation which is between us, and that glorious Cause which links us together, and makes our Interests inseparable, *The Cause of Liberty*, ought to obtain for us better Conditions. Perhaps these Complaints are just : But let us not be so partial to our selves, as to deny a Possibility,

ty, that there are likewise Faults on our Side.

It is now Twelve long Years since our Countrymen in a certain Place (a few excepted) have been a certain Gentleman's surest Body-Guard. The People of *England* have long seen their Danger, nor have honest Hands been wanting to ring the Alarm-Bell. What their true Opinion of that Gentleman's Conduct is, no Artifice can hide. The Voice of the Nation makes itself to be heard. And allow me to say, that a People who are generally no Fools, and who boast of that invaluable Privilege of thinking for themselves, are not often mistaken concerning their true Interests.

LET us ask our selves this Question, Whether, all this While, we have even contented our selves with being *Spectators* of this Scene? GOD knows if our Dwelling is safe, when the House of so near a Neighbour is on Fire; or, whether *Scotland* can be free, if *England* is enslav'd. But have we not beheld the Ship sinking, without giving our Assistance to stop the Leak? On the contrary, have we not lent our Hands to widen it? Is there a Man in *Great Britain* ignorant of this Truth, That, would the *Scots* joyn their
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Numbers to those who labour hard to save the Vessel, she might still be found and well ? What has given the grand Projector Assurance of Success in his ruinous Schemes, but his Dependence on our Countrymen, to secure to himself Impunity ? Substract them, and throw them on the other Side, Justice would quickly have her Course.

THE Malt-Tax is justly reckon'd too hard a Burden upon us. A Burden beyond our Ability to bear. The History of that Tax may be easily recollected. It has been imposed by Parliament from Year to Year, since 1713. but the Managers of the Revenue, out of a just Sense of our Poverty, and that it was vain to seek Money where there was none to be found ; or, at least, that taking more than our Country could afford, would land in disabling us from paying that or any other Tax, forbore to levy the Sums imposed. In the ever memorable Time I have mentioned, this Tax was riveted down upon us, and the Indulgence of former Times denied to us. It was indeed *seemingly* alleviated: We were to pay no greater Sum than **TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR, CERTAIN AND NEAT.** Thank GOD! this Tax is only temporary, and

and as we now shew our selves to be good and loyal Subjects, by waiting patiently till the Wisdom of the Nation shall listen to our Groans, and commiserate our Circumstances, so we ought to prepare, and not to be wanting to our selves, that our true Case may be known in Parliament. We all know and feel, that this Sum of 20000 *L.* yearly, has already well nigh undone us, and that the Continuation of it must complete our Ruin. We have good Arguments, in Plenty, to convince the thinking Part of the *English*, that it is by no Means safe for them to undo us. If *Scotland* is once render'd *inevitably* mercenary, mercenary for downright Hunger, the Liberties of *England* will soon feel the Effects of it.

BUT to whom are any Arguments of ours to be addressed ? We cannot with Colour of Reason say, that we can plead Favour with those whom we alone keep from being a Majority, without offering to do our Duty, and joyn them. Let one of our selves think as in their Place, and give his Answer. Would it not be this ? Let the Man whom you stand by, stand by you: He has often used you only to ward Blows aim'd at himself : Now ward, if you can, the Blows which he aims at you.

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You have it in your Power to save yourselves, by withdrawing from the Common Enemy, and joining in Measures which your Opposition only retards, and which Measures only can retrieve you from Destruction at last.

THIS then is our only safe, our only honourable Game. *Hapless Scotland!* if instead of this, our Applications shall be made to that very Person whose Interest it is to carry on the Scheme, what has happen'd, may happen again. We all remember, my Countrymen, (and would to GOD we may never forget) his Answers. He pretended the greatest Friendship to us, but that the Clamour of the People of *England* had made it impossible for him to save us any longer.

RIDICULOUS! shameless! incredible! Was his Influence less in that Year than it was for three Years before? Was it less than the Interest of his Predecessors in Office had been, from the 1713. downwards? They had the Interest (or at least the Address) to do this good Thing for the Nation in general, That the Tax imposed should not be levied to our Undoing. We have seen, and felt but too convincingly, that his Influence at that Time could have compassed harder Things than to save us.

IF there was any such Demand among the People of *England*, what gave Rise to it? How had we become more obnoxious to our Neighbours than we were in the preceeding Year? We all know, that if there was any Rancour in their Minds, it proceeded from the implicate and unseasonable Assistance given to the same Gentleman, in one of his Jobbs, a little While before. Thus we were first induced to sin, and then abandon'd to Punishment. Had we been less obsequious to him, or he more grateful to us, this had not befallen us. And yet there are Men who have the Front to say, that that Gentleman could not help what happened to us.

THESE *sacred Truths* he has solemnly asserted to some of our well-meaning Countrymen; but let us only listen to Facts; these speak for themselves. Political Protestations prove nothing at any Time; but when the Protestation is contradicted by Actions, he is wilfully blind who believes them.

LET us too scrutinize the Behaviours of the Sub-operators, our own Countrymen. Let us remember those who gave their Countenance to this pernicious Alternative. Some of them were misled in Judgment, and honestly (I hope) acted for the

Best ; who did so, who did otherwise, let it be tried by a Jury of their whole Peers ; let the whole Body of their Country compare their Proceedings before and after, in order to judge of their Motives, in taking this melancholly Step ; and if they now refuse us their helping Hand, let us not join to the Folly of having trusted such Men, once or oftner, the much greater Folly, join'd with Infamy, of trusting them again.

BUT above all, let us not forget the known Conductor (among our Countrymen) of this Contrivance ; the grand Artist owes much to *Scotland*, but less than the other.

IF this Burden shall, after all our Endeavours, be continued upon us for one Year more, let us lay our Hands upon our Mouths, till another proper Opportunity offers for remonstrating against it ; and, if the same two Gentlemen, of whose good Offices we have formerly had Experience, should persevere in their unwearied Benevolence, let us, upon all Occasions, shew a proportional Return of Gratitude to them.

YET, my Countrymen, I have lived to see Panegyricks upon the Malt-Tax, I have known it maintain'd, that *the Appropriation of certain Funds* (of which the
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Surplusage of the Malt-Tax is one) *for encouraging our Fisheries and Manufactories, is the greatest national Good that has been done for us since the Union of the two Crowns.* I have likewise heard the faint Beginnings of our Thriving attributed to a certain Person, who has been *the Bane of Scotland*, and who may prove us to be a Nation of Ideots, if we believe and swallow such a Bundle of Falshood and Absurdity.

By the 15th Article of the Union, the Produce of our Customs, and Excise on Liquors, are jointly valued at 63500 *L. Sterl.* yearly: But as it was possible that they might produce much more, it was agreed, that besides the Equivalent Money, properly so called, an Equivalent should be due to *Scotland* every Year, when the Produce of the Customs and Excise should exceed the computed Sum. According to that Article, it was not at all material to *Scotland*, whether the Revenue should be higher than 63500 *L.* or not, for we were intitled to an Equivalent for the Surplus of each Year.

AMONG other Clauses in the same Article, That 2000 *L.* yearly, it is provided, for seven Years, should be applied towards the Encouragement of the Manufacture of

coarse Wooll, and for ever afterwards 2000 *L.* yearly, is to be applied towards encouraging and promoting the Fisheries, and other Manufactures of *Scotland*. The Money due to the Woollen-Manufactures, never was applied till 1727. but lay dead. The annual Payments of 2000 *L.* yearly, to the other Manufactures, were also neglected. And it seems plain, that besides 14000 *L.* owing to the Woollen-Manufactures, there was due in 1727. to the other Manufactures of *Scotland*, more than 26000 *L.*

IN the Year 1719. these particular yearly Equivalents seem'd, to the Wisdom of the Nation, perplexing and intricate; and therefore a Sum of 12000 *L.* was fix'd upon, as the perpetual yearly Equivalent due to *Scotland*: Of this Sum, 2000 *L.* is directed to be wholly applied towards the Encouragement and promoting the Fisheries, and such other Manufactures and Improvements in *Scotland*, as may most conduce to the general Good of the united Kingdom. Since that Act, should the Customs and Excise produce 100000 *L.* yearly, all we can have, for the Equivalent, is only 12000 *L.*

THE Malt-Tax was not attempted to be levied in *Scotland*, till the Year 1725. and that we were poor, (which prudent Consider-

Consideration hindred the levying of it before) was at that Time allowed to be true; wherefore, only Three Pence *per* Bushel, instead of Six Pence, was impos'd, to the Purpose of raising 20000 *L. free of all Charges*; and, if the Produce fell short, there was to be a Surcharge.

BUT it quickly appeared, That this bitter Pill would not go down without gilding. *Scotland* shew'd a Sense of her Gratitude to her good Friends; and it was evident, that unless the Minds of *Scots* Men were soften'd, the levying of such a Tax, would raise a Ferment, which it might not be very easy to lay.

THIS Year the Tax produced nothing; the next it was laid on as before, but with a *Proviso*, that the Surplusage should be applied towards encouraging and promoting the Fisheries, and such other Manufactures of *Scotland*, as might most conduce to the general Good of the united Kingdom, in such Manner as should be afterwards settled by the Parliament.

BUT, all this while, no particular Plan was laid down for applying the Surplusage, or the other Funds destin'd by the Treaty of Union, and the Act 1719. for Improvement of our Manufactures; and therefore his late Majesty, by his most gracious Letter

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to the Convention of Royal Boroughs, met in *July*, 1726. was pleased to recommend to them, to devise a Method for applying these Sums. The Convention, agreeable to the Royal Command, concerted a Plan, and took upon themselves the Burden of all the Charges which the Management of these Sums might occasion.

WHILE the Nation was attentive to the Proceedings of the Convention, (which were not finished till *November*) the levying of the Tax went on. And, next Session of Parliament, two Acts were pass'd, one for Regulation of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures in *Scotland*, and the other for promoting Fisheries, and other Manufactures and Improvements in that Kingdom; by which last his Majesty was empower'd to lay down a Plan, and to fix Rules and Regulations for applying the Funds already mentioned to their several Uses.

ACCORDINGLY a Patent was pass'd, constituting One and twenty Gentlemen Trustees, for the Purposes of the different Statutes. And in this Patent a Plan was establish'd, into the Particulars of which it is needless here to enter; only this Deduction seem'd necessary, that the close Connection

nection between *the Malt-Tax*, and our *boasted national Benefits*, might appear.

THE 2000 *L.* yearly was *our own*, stipulated for us at the Union, to be made applicable to our Manufactures. In 1726. 26000 *L.* (*at least*) was owing to this Appropriation, of which only 6000 *L.* was made forthcoming ; the other 20000 *L.* is still *somewhere or other*. Had our Friends, in a certain Place, got for us our just Demands of 26000 *L.* and join'd that to *our* 2000 *L. per Annum*, there would have been a yearly Fund of 3300 *L.* for Encouragement of our Manufactures. Then we should, without Scruple, have acknowledged our Gratitude, and have reckon'd that to be publick Spirit, which was barely but paying *a Part* of a just Debt.

THE 14000 *L.* too was *ours*, and what no Man could justly withhold from us. Our Woollen Manufactures, it is true, have felt but little Benefit from it hitherto: But have we Reason to thank any Man who shall dissuade us from trying to make something of our Wooll, and rather to manufacture it ourselves, than to run into that destructive, but, in such a Case, inevitable Practice of selling it to the *French* or *Dutch*, to the infinite Loss of the united Kingdom ? Surely not.

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THE Surplusage of the Malt-Tax was *ours*, as the Surplusage of every Tax ought to be. The Malt-Tax is, my Countrymen, as I have said, only an annual Burden; were it perpetual, still we might use the common Rights of Subjects, by shewing our Arguments against it. And what better Argument can there be against any Tax than Inability to pay it? But whatever is in that, if we were to pay the Deficiency *under 20000 L.* by a *Surcharge*, who can deny that the *Surplusage* over that Sum ought to be our own? This yearly 2000 *L.* then, this 6000 *L.* this 14000 *L.* and this *beneficial* Surplusage of the Malt-Tax, were all *our own Money*.

CAN we then patiently hear it said, *That the Application of the said Funds, for encouraging our Fisheries and Manufactures, is the greatest national Good that has been done for this Country, since the Union of the two Crowns.* Nothing can be more evidently fallacious, since it leaves out one Side, and that the rugged Side of the Account, *the Malt-Tax*. The Writers on that Side aver, that we have hitherto made nothing on the Wooll. That we made nothing on the Fishery, is but too certain. If then, according to
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their favourite Scheme, our whole Fund of 4000 *L.* yearly, (I include the 20000 *L.* which is not yet given to us) were to be applied to the Linen alone, that Branch which *now* thrives, at a Charge of no more than 2650 *L.* would have 1350 *L.* yearly to spare to the rest, without needing the Aid of this Surplusage. And had this been the Plan, it would have been indeed the greatest national Good done for this Country since the Union of the two Crowns, or before that Time; but, at present, this great national Good is clogg'd with one of the heaviest national Burdens this Country ever felt since we have had a Name in History.

AND, after all, what Good has the Surplusage hitherto done to us? Our Linen Manufactures begin to thrive. And there is a Spirit of further Improvement and Amendment in the Country. All this we grant with Delight. Long may the Spirit of Amendment prevail, and soon may its Effects be seen, in the Reformation of all our Errors and Mistakes. Long may the Linen, and all the other Branches of our Commerce, flourish, and may we never cease to be grateful to those Lovers of their Country, who have been instrumental in encouraging them. If the

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honourable Trustees, have in some Particulars, shewn themselves to be *fallible*; if in promoting the general Good, they have sometimes had an Eye to private Interests; if the Offices, of which they have the Disposal, have been thought as safe in the Hands of Persons attach'd to a particular Set of Men, as in other Hands, or if Offices have been erected or dispos'd of to Relations of leading Men in considerable Boroughs, whereby such Towns might be secur'd to the Interest of some worthy and unbiass'd Gentlemen; these Escapes ought to be conniv'd at, in Regard of some greater Good, because they are the inevitable Consequences of the Powers lodg'd in them. But while we applaud the Behaviour of the Trustees, while we feel the kindly Effects of their good Management, and thank our Stars that such Conditions were (not obtain'd as Favours, but) stipulated for us upon valuable Considerations, we may reasonably ask, By whose Means happen'd it, that *our own* Money could not be *ours*, unless we bought it with a Price? This Malt Surplusage was given to encrease our Fund of Thriving; and no doubt, my Countrymen, many of you believe, or take for granted, that, without this Surplusage, our Manufactures
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could not have gone on with Success. This I have sometimes heard; but if it should be ever said again, there is a good Answer to it, That the Fact is false. For hardly any Thing of this Surplusage, has ever *hitherto* been applied for that Purpose; but the honourable Trustees have *gone on, and prosper'd* with no other Funds, than *our own old Funds*, exclusive of the Surplusage. Perhaps there may have been some few Hundreds of Pounds, since the Year 1727. brought in from the Surplusage. Perhaps too it will be said, that more than 16000 *L. Sterl.* is *now* in a Readiness to be paid to the Trustees out of that Fund, which I believe is true; but this I may aver, that without that 16000 *L.* or any (I mean any considerable) Part of the Surplusage, our Manufactures have been brought to the Condition *in which they now are, by our old Funds alone.*

How abject then is all this Flattery! The fell'd Oak may sprout again; but would she ascribe the Merits of her remaining Life to the Ax which wounded her? A Man may abstain from wicked Actions, out of no better Principle than the Fear of Satan, and his Torments; but would

it therefore be reasonable, that he should address his Adorations to the Devil ?

WE have all heard of *Rob Roy* ; whether that Nickname has been given to him, because he *robs* the *King*, or because *Robin* assumes a *regal Power* within a considerable Territory, the *Criticks* must determine. But this we know of him, that he has been exceedingly grievous to his Neighbours, by levying oppressive Taxes (or Contributions) under the Colour of *keeping the Country*. This *good Country-Keeper*, one Day in his Walks, met *Andrew Scot* an honest Weaver, come of reputable People, but very poor. *Robin* demanded what Money he had about him, which, upon Enquiry, proved to be One and twenty Shillings. *Andrew* pleaded his Poverty, that this Guinea was all the free Stock he had in the World, and if it were taken from him, he and his Family must starve. Well, says *Robin*, you have often heard of my Compassion and Clemency, and you shall have Experience of it. I have been much obliged to you, Master *Andrew*, and have wished for an Opportunity to make you a Return, now thank God I have it. You are lazy, my honest Friend, you don't work hard enough, there is too much Money in your Pocket,

Pocket. Of these Twenty *Shillings*, in pure Pity, I shall ease you: The remaining Twelve-pence shall be your own. Go *Andrew*, be busy with it; turn your Pence with the Sweat of your Brows; call in your Neighbours to be Witnesses and Prompters of your Industry. I shall look in from Time to Time to see what you are a-doing. *Andrew* had now nothing for it, but to make the best of a bad Bargain. The Gentlemen thereabouts loved the poor Fellow, and encouraged him: One bought good Flax for him: Another saw it drest: A Third examin'd his Yarn: A Fourth told his Threads, and mark'd if he wrought Statuteably; and all of them oversaw his Book. Under these kind Managers *Andrew* began to pick up a little, when *Robin's* Man, *Archie*, called upon him, What's become of my Master's Shilling? The Shilling, says *Andrew*, is now Eighteen Pence. You idle Rogue, *Archie* replies, Did not I tell you so? Is not all this owing to us? Get down on your Knees, you Dog, and cry, GOD bless your Honours.

LET us separate, carefully, my Countrymen, our Gratitude to our Benefactors, from mean-spirited and hollow-hearted Acknowledgments to those who never car'd
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to oblige us. The one is very consistent with the other. We all know where the Inclinations of the Country ly. Every Man meets it in private Conversation; and few scruple to join in it: But each Man fears his single Weight cannot turn the Scale. Let every one act honestly, and according to the Dictates of his own Conscience, the Scale will soon be turn'd. Your Enemies know you hate them, and despise you for your Want of Resolution.

BUT now the Time is come, when it is necessary for you to determine your selves. Some Time ago would have been better, but it is never too late to thrive.

We heard in this Country what past in *England* concerning the Excise Scheme, with a Sort of stupid Inattention, as a Matter of no Moment to us. Never, my Countrymen, were we more deeply interested. Never was a besotted Nation saved so providentially, without its Knowledge, nay, against its Will. The first Consequence of it was inevitable, that the bonded Duties in a certain great trading Town would have been immediately called for, to the Amount of about 80000 *L*. It is needless to enter into a Detail, the Thing is well enough understood. Had this Sum been exacted, that Town must have

have at last yielded to, and sunk under so many repeated Pressures. The same Wasp, whose Sting *Scotland* as well as she has so often felt, would have had the Pleasure to give her the finishing Stroke of Poison.

THE Projector of the Scheme gave it as a main Argument for carrying it through, That thereby the Taxes would be levied upon *Scotland* with greater Equality. Perhaps 30000 *L.* additional neat Money was meant, which, with the Malt-Tax, would have increas'd our Kindnesses, chargeable to the Account of that Gentleman, to 50000 *L.* yearly. This, before the Act 1719. would not have been material, but, since that Time, our 12000 *L.* is all the Equivalent we could have expected for 30000 *L.* additional Burden. And it is reported, that, all this While, our Countrymen were amus'd in private, with Assurances, that they would joyn in the Project, the Tax should not take Place in *Scotland*. Whether any was so good natured as to believe this indulgent Protestation, after another recent Example, I cannot tell: But this is the dreadful Prospect which we *ought to have* view'd, and from this miserable Situation the Spirit of our Neighbour Nation has rescued us.

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THIS is the Sum of our Obligations to a certain Person, and his Undertaker for this Country. Justice is loudly demanded by our Neighbours, and their Eyes are turned upon us, to wait our Motions. By declaring our true Thoughts, and well deserved Resentments; and, by joining the Assertors of their Country's Cause, we can, *without Dispute*, decide the Cause of our good Friend in a Moment. *It is far from being certain, that our Assistance* (should we be so infatuated, as to give it) *can save him*: And if he is left to the Punishment which hangs over him, every Scots Man must tremble to think what may become of us, as every Scots Man must reflect with Joy upon what we may expect from a grateful Nation which owes her Security to us.

PERHAPS it will be demanded, if we can be sure that any Thing will be done for us, tho we should declare the honest Side in the Common Cause. I reply, that we shall have *Probability, Reason and Merit* on our Side: But it would be an Answer worthy of a Scots Man, I do not know who will take off my Burden, but that Man shall not be forgotten who put it on.

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